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presentation has been made.[1] The husband now enters the house on the pretext of fetching some tool or anything that will serve as an excuse to go in. In the presence of the women who are kneading and scraping the yams, he adopts an attitude of pleasure and utters joyful exclamations, but he does not speak a word.[2] This constitutes his presentation to the women. There is nothing left for the husband to do but to disappear, and to return to his work on the beach. His wife's brother goes with him. As for the wife's father, he seeks out, among the neighbouring huts, some man of his own age, and the rest of his day will be taken up with gossip and the lighting of interminable pipes.[3]

"Towards dark, the whole company, including the husband, prepares to take the evening meal. As during the morning, the husband occupies the position of guest. He takes part in the meal, but eats only a little.[4] As for the wife's family, they behave precisely as if they were at home, though in their son-in-law's house. When the meal is finished, they gather what is left over, to serve for their own breakfast the next morning. The husband adds to produce from his own garden; at his own expense he fills his father-in-law's pipe. The food is then done up in parcels, the mother-in-law and her daughters load the parcels on their backs, and the visitors depart. The husband accompanies them a short distance, and the visit is over.

"This initial visit means that the members of the wife's family intend to take responsibility for all the care of which the young wife will shortly be in need before, during and after her confinement. This care is extended towards the child, even when it has grown to youthful manhood. The services, however, are not extended free. At the birth of a first child, the husband is obliged to present his wife's parents with a large tusked pig, worth £6.[5] Subsequent births are less heavily taxed. . . ."

Birth

In contrast to the practice on the mainland of Malekula and in the remaining Small Islands, where women give birth in their own dwelling-houses, in Vao, according to Godefroy, this takes place in one of the special women's Lodges already mentioned.[6]

[1] I.e. the husband is presented, in his own house, to his father-in-law, whom of course he has known all his life.

[2] A man may not speak to his wife's mother (see p. 135).

[3] A European innovation. There was no smoking before the advent of the white man.

[4] This also forms part of the attitude of respect incumbent on a man towards his wife's parents.

[5] The chief payment is actually made to her brother (see p. 178).

[6] See p. 73.

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on a mat (*beturu*),[1] on which it is lifted up by 4 of the mother's attendants, one holding each corner of the mat. Yet another woman (probably the midwife), having lit a stick of erythrina wood (*na-rar*)[2] at a man's fire,[3] holds it underneath the child "to make it strong." Then they carry the child, still on the mat, and place its feet close up to a fruit tree, which may be of any kind, such as *tave* or *nare*, and, while in this position, the 4 women call out its name, which has already been decided on by common consent. I received no explanation as to why the child's feet should be placed close to a fruit tree, but a similar rite, also unexplained, in which two trees are concerned, has been reported by Deacon from North-West Malekula.[4] Both rites almost certainly have to do with growth. The importance of the number 4, emphasised in Vao by the 4 women who carry the child, is in Deacon's account shown by the fact that, though only one person carries the child, the whole process of being passed over the fire and touching the trees is repeated 4 times.[5] In both cases the rite is a public one, and any men who wish may be present.

Examples of boys' untitled names are Rangon, meaning "branch," or Tur, in anticipation of the time when he will be able to stand (*tur*). Other such names may be seen in the genealogy on p. 587 and in the Appendix on pp. 747 ff. Girls' names are all prefixed by the syllable *Le-*,[6] followed by names similar to the boys', e.g. Le-tur, "she who can stand," or Le-memen, "she with the tongue (*memen*)." Later, as we have already seen in the account of the Maki rites, these names in the case of both boys and girls are changed many times during their lifetime on the occasion of the numerous re-birth rites.

(4) *Paying the mother's brother for the child*

The naming rite is, as a rule, immediately followed by the important ceremony of paying the mother's brother for the child. This is called *te tol ghini*, "we pay for it" (meaning the child). We have already seen how, in the case of a boy, the mother's brother offers prayers to the ancestors for the child's welfare. Now, after the naming rite, the mother's brother comes to the father's house, and, if the child is an eldest son, the father hands over to him five or six valuable live pigs or, in the case of a daughter or subsequent son, rather less. These pigs are called *e hu-hu ni*,

[1] Atchin *boroi wen*.

[2] The tree that blossoms with a red flower after its leaves have fallen, and is important in calendrical calculations and in the Maki (see p. 420).

[3] The stick is lighted at a man's fire in the case of a girl as well as for a boy.

[4] Deacon, 4, pp. 239-40.

[5] In Mota before the birth of a first-born child 4 male relatives are invited and transactions occur involving the exchange of 4 (sometimes 8) fathoms of shell-money. On the Twentieth Day after the birth 4 women assemble, who sit in a ring and the child is passed round the circle 4 times, each woman holding it for a moment on each of these 4 occasions (Rivers, 1, vol. I, pp. 148-8).

[6] Compare Mota *Ra-*, used in the same way (see Codrington, 3, pp. 37, 38).

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"she suckles it," meaning that with this price the father pays his wife's brother for the labour the wife has had in suckling his own child. In this way the father indemnifies the mother's patrilineal descent-group for the loss it has suffered through her marriage into another village and the fact that the child now belongs not to the mother's village and clan but to the father's. The fact that the transaction is one affecting not only the individuals immediately concerned but also the whole structure of society is marked by the fact that the mother's brother does not come alone but is accompanied by all the men of his village or Lodge, and that they bring with them message-yams adorned with croton (*re sas*) and hibiscus (*hakaul*) leaves. When they leave, the child's father in the same way presents them with message-yams similarly adorned.

Though this rite of "buying" a man's child from his wife's family is properly done as described on the Fifth Day, if the father has not a sufficient number of pigs of the requisite grades at his immediate disposal the payment may be postponed till the Thirtieth Day, when the mother first takes the child to the mainland and, if the child is an eldest son, other and much more spectacular rites take place.[1]

Tenth Day

Mother goes to shore to wash.

On the Tenth Day after the birth of her child the mother goes down to the shore to wash, and at the same time throws away the leaves, hitherto preserved, with which she has wiped away the child's excrement. It will be remembered that on this day she may also, if the father wishes, deposit the stump of the umbilical cord in a *sa-li* shell in a hole in the reef.

Thirtieth Day

Mother takes child to mainland.

On the Thirtieth Day the mother, who up till now has remained at home except for the purposes of washing and defaecation, takes the child for the first time to the mainland. The mother's brother may also be paid for the child on this day if the father has not enough pigs with which to pay him on the Fifth.[2]

[1] Nowadays it appears it may be postponed even later. Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 111) gives a circumstantial account of the payment for two children at once, when the wife was far from satisfied with the price paid by her husband and signified her displeasure by decamping for a month to stay with her brother.

[2] The Fifth, Tenth and Thirtieth Days after birth are each the occasion of important rites in South Raga. The woman's "purification" lasts for a month, after which she leaves the village for the first time and goes down to the shore (Tattevin, 1, 1928, p. 400).

In Vao and the other Small Islands this thirty-day period of retreat is repeated symbolically both by the Maki-men immediately after their re-birth (see pp. 399, 402) and in the thirty-day period of seclusion during the rite of Initiation into Manhood (see pp. 510, 521).

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of the two "Sides of the Lodge" he shall be buried in, and he is as often as not taken to be buried in the cemetery belonging to the Lodge of his birth rather than that of his adoption.

The Rites

The act of adoption is called *tor-torean*, from *tore*, to "carry" or "lead by the hand." This contrasts interestingly with the word used for the same rite in Mota, namely *ranio*, of which the primary meaning is to "snatch," since in that island, as in all the Banks Islands of which we have record, not only have the parents no power to prevent the adoption of a new-born child, but those aspiring to adopt actually race to the spot the moment they hear of the birth, and the first to arrive and pay the midwife automatically obtains the child.[1] A somewhat similar race also takes place on Atchin.[2]

Adopting father "retains" child by giving its mother's brother the "communion fowl."

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On Vao, however, matters are, as a rule, regulated in a somewhat more seemly manner. There, if a man has no sons or wishes to adopt another either for private reasons or to maintain the balance in the social system, he will go to one of his classificatory "brothers" whose wife is about to deliver and will say to him, "If it is a boy, I will give the fowl to his mother's brother."[3] This refers to the fowl which the father of a new-born male child takes to the mother's brother the day after birth and with which this man makes a communion pudding in his own Lodge when all the members of the Lodge pray for the well-being of the child.[4] This constitutes a definite proposal to adopt. The prospective father may refuse, and cannot in any case accept without the mother's consent. If this consent is withheld, the matter rests there, but no further proposal from another man may be accepted. Considerations as to the character of the adopter do not arise. The parents cannot pick and choose among prospective candidates. It is a matter of wanting the child or not wanting it. If they wish to let it go, it must go to the first applicant.

If the parents of the future child agree, the adopting father a day or two after its birth takes the promised fowl to the mother's brother, who cooks it in a special pudding and, with the male members of his Lodge, makes communion with the ancestors in the manner already described. The mother's brother then makes a return present of a fowl to the adopting father, who performs a similar communion rite in his own Lodge. Though the latter has not yet paid for the child, he by this act officially "retains" it. This rite of retention is called *e tutu ghore*.[5]

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. I, pp. 50-5.
[2] See future volume.
[3] *Ghu lore na-to na-ghan*, "I will give him the fowl to eat."
[4] See p. 177.
[5] The same phrase is used for "retaining" a girl at betrothal (see p. 192).

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Child suckled.

As a rule, the child remains with its real mother till weaned. Sometimes, however, if the adopting mother has just lost her own child in childbirth or shortly after, and is still lactating, she will herself immediately take the child and suckle it, carrying it back to its own mother when it cries, until the transference from the real to the adopting mother has been fully effected.

Adopting father indemnifies real father with pigs.

When the child is weaned and finally taken over by the adopting parents, the adopting father indemnifies the real father by giving him a circle-tusker or a re-entrant-tusker,[1] and four or five smaller pigs as payment.

If the child dies before this payment has been made, none is demanded. If, on the other hand, it dies shortly after payment, no claim will be laid to their return.

I have no account as to which of the two families perform the remaining rites connected with birth. It is presumably the adopting father who pays the mother's brother for the child on the Fifth Day, but the real mother who performs the purification rites held on the Tenth and Thirtieth Days. Rites connected with the birth of an eldest son do not come in question, since an eldest child may not be adopted.

[1] For explanation of these technical terms regarding the growth of pigs' tusks, see pp. 144 ff.

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bride's people on the occasion of betrothal and by a man to his wife's people for each child of the marriage; to a man's "friends" in other villages in compensation for his death; by a dying man to his own sons for the due carrying out of certain crucial portions of his mortuary rites; to the chief mortuary official, and to the man who impersonated the dead man in the mortuary drama staged on his grave; to experts (craftsmen and magicians) for such skilled work as hollowing out slit gongs or attaching the outriggers to sea-going canoes; to makers of wind and rain; to sorcerers and to those who possess knowledge of how to make crops grow, to cure illness or to make love magic or magic for every kind of ritual or secular purpose. Besides these, there are the pigs paid by those performing the Maki rite to their fathers for erecting the stones and to their mothers' brothers for conferring on them their new names; or to take one such example among many, by those making a new sea-going canoe to the last owners of the canoe which the new one replaces. Pigs are also paid as compensation for adultery and other offences that might otherwise lead to bloodshed or even war. Over and above these are the definite payments made for the few articles of foreign trade, chief among which are the packets of turmeric leaves obtained from Malo and used as a base in the dyeing of all plaited articles of apparel such as men's penis-wrappers and women's skirts, of money-mats and sails.

Pigs as gifts.

Slightly differentiated from these definite payments, which are all the subject of previous bargaining, are the gifts of live pigs made to all workers in the numerous ritual and semi-ritual activities that make life hum in the small islands: for example, the gifts made to those who drag up from the reef the coral blocks destined to become the dolmens and monoliths in the Maki rites, or to the hard work of felling and transporting tree trunks for the construction of sea-going canoes or for the centre-posts of a *gharnal*; to workers and dancers who come from other villages; and to all those from other villages who render any practical or ritual service. The pigs given on these occasions, though regulated by custom, are definitely regarded as gifts for services rendered, and are not the subject of previous bargaining.

"Presentation pigs" due from a man to his wife's people.

The most spectacular of all pig transactions are, however, the ritual presentations that a man is bound to make to his wife's parents on each and every important ceremonial occasion. These presentations may be regarded as an extension of the original payment for his wife. They constitute, in fact, the lifelong debt which a man never ceases from paying, and which can never be finally discharged except by death. This obligation is a source of endless resigned and wistful complaint. It is the never-

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436 ceasing toll levied by the group from which a man has taken his wife,
431 and if he has more than one wife, there will be correspondingly as many groups, or, if a second wife is taken from the same group, the toll is doubled.

These presentations are officially regarded as gifts, but they are gifts from which there is no escape, and are the subject of endless bargaining, since they are regulated by a system of exchange gifts on the part of the wife's people to the son-in-law which take place publicly on certain ritual occasions. These, and the ritual accompanying the presentation, will be described later.[1] It is enough to mention here that the exchange presentation made by the wife's people to the son-in-law is never so large as that made by him to them, so that the balance is for ever in favour of them. As the wife's parents die, and as their place is taken by her brother and, later still, her brother's son, the value of the presentation due from her husband tends to decrease, owing to the relative ages and importance of the protagonists. Therefore, the older a man gets, the less he is liable to be forced to give away. Moreover, by this time he will have daughters of his own, from whose husbands he exacts the highest possible grades of tusked pig, and to whom he gives the minimum he can by way of exchange. In this way pigs tend to accumulate in the hands of the older men, and it is chiefly through this mechanism of official presentations from a man to his wife's people that the old men retain their preponderance of power.

Loans.

436 Of equal importance in the economic system as payments, gifts and
426 presentations is the practice of letting pigs out on loan. We have already seen how, for example, on a man's marriage all his near patrilineal clansmen assist in providing the bride-price. The same system of inter-family loans obtains with respect to almost every enterprise a man sets his hand to. Under any of the circumstances listed above, or on any of the yet more numerous occasions not mentioned in which a man needs pigs, his kinsmen on both sides of his family including his mother's, and in particular his mother's brother, will, if needed and if they can afford it, assist with loans. In the case of pigs supplied by a man to his own son, particularly in such an essential matter as marriage, the loan need not be repaid. In the same way, a man will occasionally forgo repayment from a younger brother. In all other circumstances, however, a loan is strictly a loan, and must be repaid with interest. The interest in this case is calculated on the amount the loaned animal's tusks would have grown between the time of borrowing and of repayment. As repayment rarely follows quickly, by the time the debtor is called to book there is plenty of room for doubt as to the exact length of tusk to be made up.

[1] See pp. 303 ff.

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followed then by

Togh-vanu (on whose land they live)
Pete-hul
Peter-ihi
Venu
Norohure
Singon.

On occasions of great importance, such as that of the culminating Maki rite, parties will also come from other islands such as Atchin, Wala and even Rano, and from certain villages on the Malekulan mainland, and these will dance last of all.

On every occasion, while the guests dance in one body, the Maki-men act as hosts, in a manner that will be described when we come to give an account of the dances themselves.[1]

The same order is observed when the men of other villages come to help in work requiring a communal effort, such as the transporting of tree trunks for canoe-building or gong-making, in which case the Maki-men, besides providing food for feasting, encourage them and express their own joy by singing songs belonging to the relevant song-and-dance cycles.

Ceremonial Presentation of Yams

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Closely connected with these visits is the ceremonial presentation to the guests of yams and other food-stuffs. These include live and dead pigs, coconuts of all kinds, bread-fruit and other delicacies, but the chief and most important standard items are yams, which, for this purpose, are arranged and presented in three different ways, each with its own distinctive functional name.[2] These are:

(*a*) *Na-mbüt.* This is a single yam chosen for the smoothness of its skin, to the "head" of which is tied a bunch of croton leaves (*ro sas*). Whenever any announcement is made concerning the date of a forthcoming rite in which members of other villages may in any way be concerned, a message is sent, to be delivered in the dancing-ground of each village on the island, and the messenger at the same time takes with him, and deposits as a compliment to the village in question, one of these decorated yams. Similar yams are also presented to those who attend the rite, not as individuals but as representatives of their respective villages, one only being given to each village, or as the natives put it, "one to each dancing-ground." Information regarding the performance of lesser rites not needing the active co-operation of other villages is similarly

[1] See p. 325 and elsewhere in Chapter XI.

[2] These functional names are quite distinct from the names given to the different varieties of yam, of which there are at least sixty.

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conveyed after they have been performed, and each village or island is thus continually kept informed of the progress of all public rites such as the Maki, Initiation, the erection of a new *ghamal*, and so on, in every other village. On account of their ambassadorial function I will therefore refer to these decorated yams as "Message-yams."

(*b*) *Rom betige*. *Rom* is the ordinary word for "yam," and *betige* means "single" or "alone." This is a single plain yam of any variety, and will be referred to, using a literal translation of the native term, as a "Lone-yam." Such lone-yams form part of the gift of food made to those who attend or assist in any rite.

(*c*) *Ghoal*. This consists of a single large yam or a bunch of yams attached to the end of a pole for carrying, and will therefore be referred to as an "Attached-yam." Such yams are placed in a line on the ground on the occasion of every major rite, one for each village represented among the guests. The number of yams on each pole will be in accordance with the importance of the rite and with the numerical strength of the visiting village.

Gifts never received direct.

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It is important to note, with regard to the presentation of yams, coconuts, dead pigs and all other food-stuffs, and even such personal gifts as mats, that no gift ever passes direct from hand to hand. There is an unwritten law that, though all gifts are minutely recorded in the natives' minds, and though full return gifts must always sooner or later be made, with the exception of certain ritual presentations no gift may be directly made, or even so much as openly acknowledged at the time by the recipient, at least if such gift is made in public. A stranger not aware of this convention who presumes to offer such a gift into a native's hand in public will throw him into the utmost confusion. Nothing will persuade him to touch it, and he will leave it lying on the ground rather than acknowledge its existence. Later, he will, of course, return and pick it up with the knowledge that everyone knows it is his. But the stranger will have been guilty of a gross breach of etiquette. One of my own first experiences in this respect was when, during a lull in some rite, a young man of my acquaintance passed by me with an air of complete absorption in something else, and, without so much as looking at me, absent-mindedly let fall a money-mat at my feet. I thought he had dropped it by mistake, but it turned out to be a gift, and my own return gift was made subsequently in similar fashion.[1]

[1] Compare Bohun Lynch, p. 226: "Gifts should be presented in the most utterly careless manner and received with the most stately indifference. . . . The inner meaning of the manner is that friendship ought to be quite independent of gifts. And gifts must be returned strictly *ad valorem*."

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YAMS LAID OUT IN HEAPS FOR EACH VISITING VILLAGE

Names of the villages are called out in reverse order to that in which they come to dance or work.

In the same way yams, which are the staple food and form the basis of all feasts, are never given direct, but on all ordinary ritual occasions are placed on the dancing-ground in heaps, usually in a straight line, and then not for individuals, but for groups of individuals as represented by the villages to which they belong. This arrangement is called *ra re ghini vanu*, "We set them out for (each) place." When the rite is restricted to members of the home-village, the yams are placed in four heaps, one for each Quarter-Lodge, each heap being yet further divided into two for the two "Sides of the Lodge." On special occasions they may be arranged in more spectacular fashion, with the poles of the attached-yams leant up against trees or specially constructed frames, or even planted upright in the ground. In all cases, when the rite is over, the names of the villages to which each heap belongs are announced in set formula by the leading man of the home-village. They will, however, not be touched till the last moment, when the recipients will gather them up and take them home.

The names of the visiting villages are called out in the reverse order to that in which they arrive either to dance or work, namely the furthest off first, and the nearest last, so that those living furthest away shall have more time in which to get home. The set form of words with which they are distributed is given on p. 371.

PRESENTATION OF TUSKED BOARS TO WIFE'S FATHER: "CIRCLING FOR PIGS"

The presentation of yams and other food-stuffs which I have just described is in the main collective, being directed towards groups of individuals according to the villages to which they belong. On a very different footing from this is the presentation of tusked boars by a man to his wife's father or brother already referred to on page 296. This presentation takes place not only in connexion with the Maki, but also on all major occasions involving the public sacrifice of high-grade tuskers. In theory it forms part of an exchange of gifts, since the wife's father also makes a counter-presentation to his son-in-law. In practice, however, as every young married man will bitterly explain, it is one of the chief mechanisms by which the wife's parents bleed their daughter's husband of his wealth.

The transaction is a complicated one, but the act of presentation is in the highest degree spectacular and is charged with an emotion yielding

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in intensity only to the actual moment of sacrifice in the major rite which it immediately precedes.

The chief occasions on which, according to my record, these presentations take place are at the culminating point before the chief sacrifice at Gong-Raising and in both parts of the Maki.[1]

Transaction involves the conveyance of three pigs.

The transaction involves the conveyance of three pigs, two of which are tuskers and one not. The three pigs are:

(*a*) The "presentation-pig," of a grade not less than that of curved-tusker, which forms the main item in the transaction, being that which a man presents to his wife's father, or, failing him, her brother or some other male agnatic relative. This pig is not known by any generic name.

(*b*) What I propose to refer to as the "consideration-pig." This pig, a tusker of lesser grade, is presented by the wife's father (or other representative of the wife's family) to his son-in-law on some *previous* occasion, either privately or publicly at some rite which the latter is himself performing, in consideration for the presentation-pig, the value of which has already been agreed. The pig thus given is referred to by the natives as *ne-mbal*. I am unable to give the derivation of this word, and have therefore adopted the term "consideration-pig" as most suited to describe its function in the transaction.

(*c*) A "complimentary-pig" given by the wife's father to his son-in-law after the main presentation. This is a low-grade pig without tusks, given without ceremony at some subsequent date, and is supposed to make up the balance between the value of the presentation-pig and the consideration-pig, but in fact does not do so. This complimentary-pig is called *tor-lorean*, from the verb *tore*, to "lead by the hand." [2]

It is customary that the consideration-pig shall be one main grade lower than the presentation-pig; thus a curved-tusker might be given as consideration for the presentation of a re-entrant-tusker. The complimentary-pig will probably have no tusks at all. The whole transaction is thus seen to be very much in favour of the wife's father, and it is he who therefore opens negotiations as soon as the preliminary cycle of rites leading up to the sacrifice in question have been set on foot. It will be remembered that, in the case of the Maki, many years elapse between the initial stages of the ritual cycle and its ultimate consummation, so that

[1] See pp. 358, 386, 425.
[2] Sometimes called also *ghu-ghulat*, related to the Atchin *kalatsi*, "to give in exchange."

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there is always plenty of time for endless bargaining and haggling. Proceedings with regard to the presentation are opened well in advance, when the father-in-law goes to his daughter's husband and says, "You know that I am about to perform a certain cycle of rites; I expect you at the culminating ceremony to present me with a tusker of such or such grade." The son-in-law may argue that through poverty or through the demands on his resources made by rites he is himself performing, or for some other reason, he can only afford to present a tusker of some lesser grade. If the wife's father sticks to his point (and it will be realised that in this case the wife's influence is on the side of the father, and the prestige acquired through generous giving also throws its weight into the same scale), there is little that the son-in-law can do to mitigate the extent of his obligation.

In any case, negotiations are opened. The two pigs of which the grade is definitely agreed are the presentation-pig and the consideration-pig. The size of the complimentary-pig is left to the generosity of the father-in-law.

The giving in advance of the consideration-pig, whether privately or in public, is unaccompanied by any ritual proceeding other than the blowing of the conch-signal appropriate to its size.

PRESENTATION RITE: "CIRCLING FOR PIGS"

The rite accompanying the presentation of the main subject of the transaction, namely the presentation-pig, is, however, the spectacular one which I have termed "Circling for Pigs." This rite occurs with variations throughout the whole graded society area in various forms.[1] It is the same in essentials throughout the Small Islands, and since, though I saw one performance on Vao, I did not record it in detail, I here give a brief description of the rite as performed on Atchin, having been assured that the Vao version was in all essentials the same.

Torches symbolise tuskers.

In the Small Islands, as on the mainland of Malekula, the symbols used in this dance are torches. These torches consist of bundles of green reeds five or six feet long, firmly bound together with sinnet at intervals up their length. In ordinary speech they are called in Vao *rehēre* and in Atchin *rosher*.[2] When used to symbolise tusked boars they are, however,

[1] Deacon gives eye-witness accounts from Lambumbu in 4, pp. 364 ff. and 369 ff. See also 4, p. 289. Compare also, for South Raga, Tattevin, 1, 1927, pp. 88 and 423; and for the Banks Islands, Codrington, 3, p. 109, and Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 74.

[2] This word is also applied to the commoner form of torch made out of coconut leaves, and to the midrib of the coconut under all circumstances. This latter is probably its original meaning.

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in both islands called *ne-shûl*,[1] and may be treated in three ways, each used as a symbol for one of the three higher grades of tusked boar.[2] Thus:

(*a*) for a curved-tusker the symbol is a new torch made of fresh reeds and unlighted;

(*b*) for a re-entrant-tusker the torch used must be an old one blackened with smoke from having been stored in the roof of the owner's dwelling-house or Lodge, but unlighted;[3]

(*c*) for a circle-tusker it is both blackened and lighted.

Each man about to hand over a presentation-tusker carries one such torch, treated in the manner appropriate to the grade of tusker he is about to present, held horizontally in his outstretched right hand.

Receiver and donor.

In the following brief description I will refer to the wife's father or brother, at the culminating point of whose major rite the presentation takes place, as the receiver, and to the son-in-law (or sister's husband) as the donor.[4]

The Rite.

The receiver stands in the middle of the dancing-ground. As the members of the visiting village approach, the donor dragging his tusker in their midst, either he or one more skilled in blowing the conch-shell trumpet halts from time to time to blow the trumpet signal appropriate to its grade. These sounds are at first heard afar off, growing louder as the party comes nearer. Arrived at the entrance to the dancing-

[1] Cf. Seniang *ne-hul* (Deacon, 4, pp. 413, 741, etc.).

[2] Crescent-tuskers are not used for presentation.

[3] The same symbolism exists in Lambumbu, where Deacon records that unlighted torches danced with in a similar way represent the grade of pig there called *naarugh*, which is equivalent to re-entrant-tusker.

[4] This description is based on my own observation of the transaction as carried out on the occasion of the Gong-Raising rite at the Atchin village of Emil Marur in 1914. The maker of the rite and owner of the gongs, and therefore the receiver, was an Emil Marur man named Mari. The donor was a man of the Atchin village of Ruruar, named Melteg-tilini, whose mother's mother belonged to Mari's village and who was presenting Mari with a curved-tusker. Melteg-tilini having, however, injured his foot and being unable to dance, his classificatory son, Melteg-weraim, "circled" for him.

Mari had previously given Melteg-tilini a crescent-tusker as consideration-pig, on the occasion of the consecration of a new large men's sleeping-house (*ne-im won muri lep*) erected by Melteg-tilini's Lodge-brother Melteg-tali-waru.

This was only one of the occasions on which I witnessed the rite. I also saw it performed at the consecration of a new sea-going canoe in the Atchin village of Emil Parav, and at High Maki on Rano. These performances will be described in detail in future volumes.

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ground, the party advances slowly towards the receiver and the trumpet signal is once more sounded, those in the party cheering as the blower draws breath for each new stave.

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FIG. 44

"Circling" with blackened and lighted torch for a circle-tusker. The Maki-man carries his torch in his right hand, raising the dust with his swift-moving feet as he circles round towards his wife's father who awaits him outside the picture to the left. The drawing is made from a photograph taken during Low Maki at Peter-ihi, facing the Lower Side of the dancing-ground where women and children watch from behind a light fence made of decorated bamboos.

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Within ten or twelve yards from the receiver, the party halts. Then a group of the receiver's relatives stationed at the gongs strikes up a special gong-rhythm, one of the swiftest and most exciting in their whole repertory. At the sound of this rhythm the donor, having handed the pig-rope to one of his compatriots, issues alone from their midst and, holding his torch horizontally in his outstretched right hand, makes a sweeping circle, passing close by the receiver. With quick shuffling step that beats up the dust and reflects the excitement of the gongs, with knees bent, every muscle tense, and body and torch quivering with the motion, he circles round. This circling is in ¡Vao called *ra val-valau ne-shûl*, "we run round (with) torches." His circles completed, he returns to the group of kinsmen from which he had come.

The gongs continue to beat out their rhythm, and the receiver now, empty-handed but with arm outstretched as if holding a torch, circles round towards the donor with the same quick, tense, shuffling step, and so back to the point from which he had started.

The donor then repeats his circle, and the receiver again follows suit.

This circling is repeated three times in the case of a curved-tusker, four times for a re-entrant-tusker, and five for a circle-tusker.

When the circling has been repeated the correct number of times the gongs cease, and the donor walks up to the receiver and hands him the torch. The receiver gives the donor a small pig in exchange for the torch.

The donor then walks back to the group of his kinsmen, takes the rope to which the tusked boar is attached from the companion in whose charge he has left it, and, dragging it forward, gives the rope into the hands of the receiver.

The receiver then hands the torch back to the donor. The gongs are then sounded again with the same rhythm, and the donor, holding his torch as before, once more circles round.

Lastly, the receiver, having handed the pig-rope to a companion, himself once more circles empty-handed around.

The presentation being now over, the donor's kinsmen advance and present mats and small pigs to their own relatives-in-law among the hosts. The pigs thus given are called *ling-lingean* and the act of giving them *ling-ling*, from the verb *lingi*, "to accompany," referring to the fact that these small pigs "accompany" the big presentation-tuskers.

The major rite in which the receiver is engaged now takes its further course, and it is not till his own sacrifice has been performed and the guests are about to depart that he quite informally hands over to the donor his complimentary-pig.

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Variation in ritual.

The above account gives the simplest essentials only. There are many minor variations, and in the more important rites such as the Maki the spectacular nature of the "circling" is enhanced by the number of presentations, in which case the circling rite may either be repeated separately for each tusker, or each pair of donors and receivers may perform it simultaneously. On important occasions the wife herself accompanies her husband and holds the pig-rope during the presentation.

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Bur-tambean or *Tulo-gogon*

First part. Exchange of 100 *puddings and coconuts between twin-villages.*

The first of these is *Bur-tambean*, or *Tulo-gogon*, a ceremony divided into two parts, the first of which may be held on the fifth, sixth or as much as the tenth day after the launching of the canoe. This rite is remarkable in that it concerns only that Side of the Island to which the dead man belongs. My account refers specifically to a death occurring on the Superior Side consisting of the twin-villages of Pete-hul and Togh-vanu.

The first part of the rite consists in an exchange, on successive days, of 100 small puddings, called *na-lok ne ghe mer-sean*,[1] "puddings for the old man," and 100 coconuts (in the stages of growth called *na-womp* or *nu-mbut*) between the twin-villages. On the first day 100 of each of these objects are sent to Togh-vanu, and on the second a similar number is returned by Togh-vanu to Pete-hul. Smaller numbers are exchanged out of courtesy with the two small refugee communities of Tolamp and Saraliwe. Nothing is sent to any community on the other Side of the Island.

Second part. Presentation of fowl and yams to every group of males born of a common father and mother.

After this, a day is appointed for the second part of the rite, when the dead man's kinsmen present a fowl and a yam to every group of males on this Side of the Island[2] who are born of a common father and mother.

This was first represented to me as "gifts to all the *bete-ram*" (eldest sons of their father) in the villages concerned. This statement, however, soon had to be modified when it appeared that the eldest *surviving* son (such as Vago-lili, see Tolamp genealogy, Table X), who never had been an official *bete-ram*, was among the recipients. Moreover, two sons of different mothers but of the same father could also, in certain cases, each receive a gift, though the second of these could in no case be a *bete-ram* in the official sense. Finally, my informant came out with the full explanation that though it is, as a rule, the first-born sons of common parents who receive each a fowl and a yam, these gifts are not meant for them as individuals, but rather as representatives respectively of each set of sons born of the same two parents on that Side of the Island.

My informant's use of the word *bete-ram* in this connexion will be seen to be very much looser than that defined under the section dealing with the rites in connexion with the birth of an eldest son.[3] There, a boy was only a *bete-ram* if he was the first-born son of his father, here the term is extended to include one who is the eldest son of his mother, although his father may have had a previous *bete-ram* by another wife.

[1] Equivalent to the Atchin *lok-wotsnwots*.
[2] Including Tolamp and Saraliwe.
[3] See p. 181-2.

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Thus, a man having two sons by two wives will be entitled to three fowls and yams, one for himself and one for each son. Further sons by the same wives do not increase his claim. In the same way, two sons born to the same woman by successive husbands require a fowl and a yam apiece.

Though it is usual for the eldest, or eldest surviving, of a number of brothers to take the part of *bete-ram* and receive the gifts, it is in reality a matter of arrangement between them as to which shall act. For example, Melteg-vanu [1] is entitled to a fowl and yam for himself, and a second for his baby son who is not yet of an age to be able to receive it. Melteg-vanu might feel embarrassed at receiving two fowls while his brothers Rangon and Dominik stood by and received none, and would probably depute Rangon to receive the one due to the three of them as being sons of a common father and mother.[2]

Though presentation takes place on the public dancing-ground, women may not be there. The masculine character of the proceedings is further emphasised by the naming of the fowls and yams, which are here called respectively *tò-gogon* and *rom-gogon*, the second syllable, *gogon*, being probably equivalent to the Atchin *kon* or *hon* and meaning "taboo" or "holy." [3]

When all have assembled, the Speaker calls on those entitled to them to come forward and receive their gifts. Then each member of the dead man's Lodge conducts the particular first-born that is his "friend" to the fowl and yam that have been placed ready for him. These then retire to consume the provender, which may on no account touch the lips of one from the other Side of the Island.

The yams may apparently be presented either attached or lone.

A touch of humour may be introduced into the proceedings by the choice, for a group consisting of three or four brothers, of a yam which has three or four tubers attached to the same root. This, however, is only a joke, a single *bete-ram* being often presented with one that has more than one tuber.

Tulagh or *Talogh*

The chief mortuary official issues from his seclusion in the Lodge. Removal of his restrictions on food.

Till now, the chief mortuary official, who washed and prepared the body for burial, has remained secluded in the dead man's Lodge.

[1] See genealogy, Table X.

[2] Other instances given me from the genealogy were:
Melteg-vanu's son and Ni-sel (2) are entitled to a fowl and yam each, having separate fathers though a common mother. Vago-lili will receive one fowl and yam for himself and a second for his two sons (by the same mother) Tur and Temar. Ni-sel (1) and Mal-sale receive one between them, and Mal-togh one to himself. Ma-taru will receive one for himself, and a second for Wale-kobu and Masing-melia.

[3] As distinct from *ghoghon*, which means "bitter."

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769 Among the restrictions connected with his seclusion has been the prohibition against eating anything that has been touched by any woman (except his mothers), and a reciprocal prohibition against any woman eating anything that has been touched by him.

The ceremony of *Tulagh*, or *Talogh*, which now takes place, marks the public removal of these restrictions.

Preparatory to this all the villages of the island come in turn to perform the Rail dance called *Pilagh*[1] in the dancing-ground, though this may on occasion be compounded so that all of them dance on a single occasion together.

When this is over, yams are placed on the dancing-ground for the chief mortuary official and for the visiting villages, as is usual at all such gatherings. When all is ready, and the people are assembled, the chief official, his body oiled and decorated and his face daubed with red paint, comes radiant into the dancing-ground, is seen of all present, and walks down the row of yams, touching them all in turn. This is precisely what is done by women at the *ghor-ghor* ceremony after the Maki.[2] Here it is done in order to show, by openly touching the yams that are to be distributed far and wide throughout the island, that the restrictions attaching to him in his official capacity are now over.

He now sacrifices with a stick one of the many pigs provided by the dead man's sons as gifts for the visiting villages, and the remaining pigs are then sacrificed by the members of his Lodge and placed with the yam heaps. The dead man's son then pays the chief official for his services with a live circle-tusker. This is called *e tuloni talagh*, "recompensing the mortuary official," and a conch-shell trumpet is blown with the correct signal for the pig that has just changed hands.

Mete-vuho

Exchange of yams with those who have eaten parts of the pigs killed at MATEAN.

769 431 This, apart from the annual anniversary communion, is the last of all the mortuary rites. It consists in a complimentary exchange of yams with all those who ate the various "cuts" of the pigs (*ghoagh*) which were killed and distributed at the *Matean*.[3]

An interval of a year or two is allowed to elapse before this exchange takes place, owing to the necessity of waiting for a good crop of yams.

Large numbers of these are collected and arranged in heaps for the various Lodges and villages. Then all those who have eaten parts of the pigs already mentioned arrive with attached- and lone-yams, and going up to their hosts say, "This is for the head" of such and such a pig, "This for the rump" of another, "This for the ribs" of a third, or "This

[1] See pp. 323, 515. [2] See p. 407. [3] See p. 547.

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for such and such a small pig." The giving of these yams is called *ra vangani ghoagh*, "we return food for the pigs." The Speaker then announces that they may take the yams that have been placed ready for them, and they depart, the yams they have been given being roughly equal in size and quality to those that they have brought.

ANNIVERSARY COMMUNION. *HULHULUAN*

There remains only the annual communion rite celebrated on the anniversary of the old man's death, held every year so long as the memory of him is kept alive. The anniversary day is called *Simbean*, and the feast *Hulhuluan*. The day of the moon on which he died is remembered, and the moon itself is recognised by whether death occurred at the time of the new yams or the season of the *na-viho* fruit tree or some such natural event connected with the native calendrical system.

On the anniversary itself there are three communion rites, the first and last with a pudding, and the second and central rite of the whole proceeding with a kava root (*malogh*). Kava is not drunk in the Small Islands (though it is said to be by the Big Nambas in the interior of the mainland), but it is used on various occasions during the Maki and also for magic. So far as I know, this is the only occasion on which it is placed in the mouth. The tenor of the petitions offered by the living to the deceased after the communion is that the latter may do them no harm, protect them from evil and give them increase in pigs.

Only the men of the dead man's Quarter take part in this rite, though a general feast for the whole Side of the Island is made on the following day.

Morning communion with pudding. Petitions to dead man.

On the morning of the anniversary a small pudding is made by the men of the dead man's Quarter in their Lodge. When cooked, it is taken out of the oven and cut up into small pieces. Each man holds a piece in his hand, with which to communicate. No one says "*Ghire*" as is done on other occasions, because they are seated so close together as to make it unnecessary. They watch one another, and at one moment each bites off a morsel, saying "*Na . . . long . . . ki*," "The pudding," drawing the word out. Then the presiding man offers a petition to the dead man, beginning always with the customary formula "*Ta-mat wurogh*," "Ghost, stay quiet," with which all communion prayers begin.[1] As an example of the petitions offered on this occasion my informant gave the

[1] The same formula is uttered every time a yam-pudding (*na-longk*) is eaten, as a kind of grace. The same holds true of the Banks Islands, of which Codrington (3, p. 271) says, "At ordinary meals when the oven is opened a bit of food is put aside for the dead, with the words 'This is for you, let our oven be well cooked.'"